

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, PO

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO CALLAGHAN ON PORTUGAL

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

PLEASE DELIVER SOONEST FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CALLAGHAN FROM
THE SECRETARY:

QUOTE: DEAR JIM: SINCE OUR CONVERSATION IN NEW YORK OVER
THIS PAST WEEKEND, REPORTING ON THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL
SUGGESTS THAT THE SITUATION THERE IS STILL HIGHLY FLUID
AND UNCERTAIN. THEREFORE IT SEEMS CLEARER THAN EVER THAT
WE OUGHT TO DO EVERYTHING THAT CAN BE DONE TO STRENGTHEN
THE RESOLVE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN LISBON TO AVOID
ENTERING INTO COALITION ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

CERTAINLY THE RECORD OF EVENTS IN PORTUGAL SINCE THE APRIL
1974 REVOLUTION AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THE COMMUNISTS

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HAVE ACTED TO TRANSLATE THEIR MINORITY STATUS INTO POSITIONS

OF POWER IN KEY AREAS OF INFLUENCE GIVES ONE NO REASON TO THINK THEY WILL BEHAVE ANY DIFFERENTLY IN THE FUTURE. THE SOCIALISTS MORE THAN ANY ONE OTHER GROUP HAVE SUFFERED FROM THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC MANNER IN WHICH THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ACTED TO TAKE OVER NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE

MEDIA, TO ACCOMPLISH DE FACTO TAKEOVER OF MANY INDUSTRIAL PLANTS, AND TO ENTRENCH THEMSELVES IN KEY AREAS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT. LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODIES WERE ALSO TAKEN OVER AND CONTINUE TO BE MANIPULATED BY THE COMMUNISTS IN WAYS CLEARLY UNRESPONSIVE TO THE POPULAR WILL. THE RECORD IS PAINFULLY CLEAR THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES HAVE LITTLE TO GAIN FROM A COALITION WITH THE COMMUNISTS THAT WOULD GIVE THEM AGAIN THE KIND OF INFLUENCE IN KEY AREAS WHICH THEY HAVE EXPLOITED SO EFFECTIVELY IN THE PAST AND TO THE DETRIMENT OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES.

I KNOW YOU SHARE THESE CONCERNS AND I KNOW ALSO THAT SOARES UNDERSTANDS THE RISKS OF ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE COMMUNISTS WHERE THEY CONTROL MINISTRIES OF POTENTIAL POLITICAL POWER IN GOVERNMENT. YET THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL IS STILL SUCH THAT SOARES MAY FEEL THAT HE HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO UNDERTAKE SOME KIND OF JOINT EFFORT WITH THE COMMUNISTS UNLESS HE HAS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT HIS FRIENDS ABROAD AND PARTICULARLY THOSE IN EUROPE WILL BACK HIM IN NOT DOING SO. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT I BELIEVE YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM ARE OF SUCH PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE.

FOR OUR PART, AS I TOLD YOU IN NEW YORK, WE DO NOT INTEND TO ASSIST ANY PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT IN WHICH COMMUNISTS HAVE POSITIONS OF ANY SIGNIFICANCE. I HOPE YOU WILL FEEL FREE TO COMMUNICATE THIS TO SOARES. I HOPE ALSO THAT YOU WOULD URGE HIM TO STOP ADVOCATING A COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH THE PCP, SINCE BY CONTINUING TO DO SO HE MIGHT WELL SEE SUPPORT FOR HIMSELF AND HIS PARTY EVAPORATE AS WELL.

I LOOK FORWARD VERY MUCH TO HEARING FROM YOU AFTER YOUR MEETING WITH SOARES. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER.
UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

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